

A
SHORT ESSAY

ON THE
Modes of Defence best adapted to
the Situation and Circumstances
of this Island.

WITH
An Examination of the SCHEMES that have been formed
for the Purpose of fortifying its principal Dock-
yards on very extensive Plans, which are ready to
be carried into Execution by his Grace the Duke of
RICHMOND, now Master-General of the Ordnance.

ADDRESSED
To the PUBLIC at large, but particularly to the
HOUSE OF COMMONS, and the Independent
COUNTRY GENTLEMEN of *Great-Britain*.

BY AN OFFICER.

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SECTION I.

THE invasion of a country like Great Britain, of an insular situation and very considerable extent, by a powerful fleet and army, either with temporary and particular views, or for the purposes of absolute conquest, must always be attended with great difficulty, danger, and expence; and can scarce ever happen suddenly, or come on us unawares, before we have some sort of intelligence or information of our enemies
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designs. For the time necessarily spent in making the immense preparations requisite for such an undertaking, the rapidity with which rumours of every naval or military enterprize, and transaction of great magnitude or importance, are propagated by the intercourse of neighbouring nations; the impossibility almost of transporting so large an armament across the sea, without the knowledge and observation of some one or other of our cruisers, and the vigilance which war naturally excites in those that are engaged in it, must render entire secrecy impracticable, and discovery of intention to a certain degree altogether unavoidable. Besides, certainty or positive intelligence is not in such cases absolutely required: for even suspicions in time of war suggest the necessary precautions against a surprise. In an island like this, then, the necessity of having strong holds or indeed any fortifications at all, except such as are requisite for preventing a *coup de main*, and the bad effects of transient and inconsiderable attacks on our dock-yards, &c. may, I think, with great

great propriety, be questioned. Accordingly, no extensive fortress has ever been erected in the inland parts of it. But our practice of fortifying has hitherto been confined to its coasts and dock-yards. I am well aware, however, that a late Writer on fortification has positively asserted, that, had there been some good fortified places in England at the time of the Norman invasion, the enemy would not have become masters of the country by gaining a single battle. A fondness for the art that he professed, and a desire to recommend it, led him, unguardedly, into an assertion which militates against the very first and most fundamental principles or maxims, which, in reasoning on such subjects, must for ever govern the ideas and sentiments of an intelligent and skilful soldier. Had there been extensive or strong fortresses in this kingdom when William the Conqueror invaded it, Harold must have garrisoned them to prevent them from falling an easy prey to the invaders: and this would have occasioned such a diminution of his active

and moving force, that he could hardly have taken the field with the remainder. The smallest overthrow or discomfiture in such a situation, with his acting strength thus diminished, must infallibly have been followed soon by the surrender of these very garrisons; a circumstance that could have only served to add strength and security, if not insolence and oppression, to the conquest. England was not then lost for the want of fortifications, but by the imprudence and indiscretion of Harold, in venturing on a general action. This was the very thing that William had to wish for, as nothing short of a decisive battle could possibly have made him conqueror. Had Harold pursued a different line of conduct, had he acted with all his moving force, without coming to any thing general or decisive, and kept constantly hovering on William's line of march and penetration, cutting off his detachments, parties, and convoys, and harassing all his steps, he would have rendered his progress extremely difficult, if not impracticable; would
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soon have lessened both the ardour and number of his troops; and, in a short time, would have reduced him to such difficulties and distress, as to oblige him either to lay down his arms, or to abandon the country with disgrace and disappointment. With strongly fortified places, however, in his dominions, and the greatest part of his troops distributed in garrisons, had he even adopted, on that occasion, such a prudent and judicious system of opposition, he could not have carried it successfully into execution.

The force of every country, in which there are fortifications, may be very fitly divided, into that which is fixed or stationary, and that which is active or moving, and confined to no particular scene of operation. The first is calculated only for repelling local individual attacks; whereas the last is capable of acting every where, as incidents may require. And it is evident, that, whilst the military establishment of a state continues invariable, in
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whatever proportion the one is increased, in the same exactly must the other be diminished. Now, it is a maxim in war no less certain than an axiom in mathematics, that the force which can be brought to act in all possible situations, is infinitely preferable, even for the purposes of defence, to that which is entirely limited in its operations by locality. Every garrisoned place must necessarily take from the active strength of a country. No nation, therefore, that acts from policy, and follows the dictates of sound sense and reason, will ever increase its fixed force, to such a degree, as to make it bear any considerable proportion to its active or moveable force, unless there be some circumstances in its situation that render such a measure both eligible and necessary; as there are in that of Holland, for instance, which is only a sort of confederated cluster, or republic of garrisons. In kingdoms, likewise, of great extent and compactness, of which the different parts are contiguous and connected, partly surrounded only by neighbouring states,

states, and having frontiers to be defended, comparatively but small, it may be sometimes advisable to have fortified places along these boundaries, and to have strong garrisons placed in them, both to check the sudden inroads of their neighbours, and to cover certain districts, whilst their moving forces are directed to other quarters. But if the frontiers of a country are very extensive, and bounded almost every where by those of other states, they can neither be completely fortified nor garrisoned, let its military strength be ever so powerful, and its resources ever so many and great, supposing even its whole active force to be converted into a stationary one. In such a situation, it is both injudicious and impolitic to think of numerous fortifications, particularly in those parts which border on powers that can bring but very small or inconsiderable armies into the field; since their incursions can be only partial, temporary, and of but little effect. Now, fortresses that are not strongly manned, are liable to be easily reduced, and, when

once taken, are apt frequently to occasion the entire loss of the territories in which they are erected. The Emperor of Germany has, in this respect, acted both with manliness and judgment. It may, indeed, generally speaking, be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim, that any country, in which works are multiplied to such a degree as to require the greatest part of its acting forces to garrison them, is in a much worse situation in point of defence, than if it wanted them altogether. Garrisoned places are often calculated chiefly for preventing sudden irruptions, and for covering and protecting the property of citizens and subjects in particular towns and districts. And where such attacks are most likely to happen, it may, perhaps, be proper to have them, when they can be kept without weakening much the acting strength of a state. But insular situations of all others stand least in need of fortifications: for they are not subject to sudden assaults; and they cannot be visited by an enemy in force from
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any distance, without all the preparation, pomp, and parade of war, and the usual formalities of invasion, especially if they are of great extent, and possess considerable internal resources. Even in islands that are too small for carrying on advantageously the chicanery and management of a defensive war, and where the inhabitants are not sufficiently numerous for the purpose, it is extremely doubtful, whether works are at all useful or necessary. For, if the people throw themselves into forts, and thereby concentrate their strength, it is a strength that is stationary and inactive, and capable only of short resistance. And the invaders immediately become masters of every part, but those on which the works themselves actually stand. Thus cooped up, they have the mortification to see their plantations, farms, habitations, &c. destroyed; which is a sacrifice that but few subjects have either zeal or loyalty enough to make. Such islands must always be dependent on some state much more powerful than themselves, and can only

be defended properly by a navy capable of preventing both the approach and landing of troops. For troops, when once landed in considerable numbers, must infallibly succeed in spite of any marine whatever. Their sole defence then rests on the preventing of a landing, and consequently must be almost entirely naval. In such places it is, perhaps, altogether unadvisable to have more troops and garrisons, than what are barely necessary for giving sanction to the business and forms of government, and preventing internal feuds and insurrections. For there is scarce any power, however strong its military establishment may be, capable of garrisoning a great number of them so effectually, as to enable them to stand out any length of time against an invading army, supposing them even to be completely fortified. And no navy can be sure of making even such small conquests, without the co-operation of an army. But after they are once made, it may, without troops, secure them against invasion. At
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any rate it must be allowed, that fleets, although they may preserve, are not at all calculated for making, by themselves, conquests that are large or extensive. For, in such enterprises, their principal use must ever consist in covering and protecting the transportation of armies, and the supplies necessary for rendering their operations successful, particularly if the enemy cannot be surrounded by land, but must receive assistance by means of shipping from a distance. The West Indies are exactly in the predicament of the small islands I have been describing. For they are mostly too inconsiderable, both in extent and population, for carrying on advantageously a defensive war against an army even moderately strong, and are so circumstanced in other respects, that it is impossible for the inhabitants to join in it without suffering a total destruction of their property. The greatest number of the planters, therefore, are convinced, by sad experience, that, in such cases, it is generally eligible, if not absolutely necessary, for

them to change their masters without a struggle, finding, that works can only protect them long enough against the enemy for the ruin of their plantations, and their own consequent distress and bankruptcy. Fortifications and troops, therefore, when multiplied in them to any great degree, are only an useless expence of treasure, and a loss of national strength. The military establishment of Great Britain is likewise so small and trifling, that it is not possible for her to furnish them with garrisons sufficient for protecting them even against slight attacks. Their principal, if not sole protection, then, must come from our navy. And it requires but a small share of discernment to foresee, that this country must inevitably lose the whole West Indies, with her naval superiority. The history of mankind, both in ancient and modern times, furnishes many proofs of the doctrine I have been advancing. During the first Punic war, the Romans found it impossible for them
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to cope with the Carthaginians in Sicily, though aided by allies on the island, even near as it lay to their territories, in comparison of Africa, and powerful as their republic then was in infantry, without a naval force to put them on a footing with their enemies at sea. The exertions they made, from not possessing a single vessel, both in point of expedition and magnitude, almost exceed belief. Under repeated, discouraging, and the heaviest losses, they struggled through successive campaigns, to wrest the sovereignty of the ocean from a people, who enjoyed it as a sort of inheritance from their ancestors. And when, by a final effort, supported by unexampled perseverance and steadiness, they accomplished almost the entire destruction of the Carthaginian marine, they immediately became the undisputed sovereigns of Sicily. Amilcar, like a prudent general, continued the dispute as long as his countrymen were masters at sea, or there was the least probability of their continuing so, wisely judging, that the Romans, without a

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navy, even with all their other advantages, could not succeed eventually. But when he saw this superiority gone from his country without remedy, he concluded, that there was no longer any prospect of success, and though, as far as matters related to himself, unconquered by his enemies, he prudently put an end to the struggle by a treaty, which yielded to them the subject of contention.

Having early in the war before last acquired decided advantages over our enemies at sea, which enabled us to conduct the transportation of our armies, and every thing necessary for their use, consumption, and support, both with safety and expedition, we carried conquest into every part almost that we visited, particularly the West Indies, and places not much better circumstanced for defence. Although they had many more troops at command than we had, they durst not venture to sea with them, without encountering the most imminent dangers, running the risk of being
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taken with all their supplies, and thereby sustaining greater losses than the actual preservation of the places they wished to save and protect, would have compensated; whereas, last war, feeling themselves, in this respect, on a sort of equality with us, they were often enabled to act more advantageously than ourselves, as the number of their troops was greater, and might have been increased occasionally to any degree, till the 12th of July 1782, when we obtained a temporary naval superiority over them.

Islands, however, like Great Britain, that are extremely populous, possessed of numberless resources within themselves, and of sufficient extent for all the contrivance, stratagem, and business of a defensive war, are in a very different situation from those I have been describing. For, although it must, undoubtedly, be allowed, that without a powerful and well-appointed navy, it is impracticable for this country to retain any foreign possessions, or carry on an extensive

tensive commerce; yet, supposing her marine to dwindle even into insignificance, it does not therefore follow, that the island itself must be lost. For, if an army, ever so numerous, was even landed with an intention to conquer it, nothing could ensure it success, but our own imprudence and indiscretion in venturing on a general action. This, of all things, therefore, ought chiefly to be avoided. Delays, in such cases, are the same as victories to the invaded, and defeats to the invaders. Whatever country, at the commencement of an invasion, adopts a different line of conduct, and rests every thing on the issue of a battle, acts under the greatest of all possible disadvantages, and loses the principal part of her natural strength, which consists in this, that the peasantry, after a short resistance, get rid of the dread of arms and the terrors of an attack, and with a little management, from being intimately acquainted with the *chart de pais*, and the situations and places they resist in, become equal, if not superior, for the purposes

purposes of defence to any troops they may happen to co operate with. The beginning is always the weakest time for the invaded and the strongest for the invaders. It is the business of the one then to wish for, and of the other to avoid a general engagement, or any operation whatever, that can prove decisive with regard to the fate of the kingdom. Every thing, therefore, ought to be carefully guarded against that can have the least tendency to bring matters to a decision, immediately after the disembarkation of the enemy, or whilst they have a safe and secure communication with their shipping: for then they must feel themselves strongest, and will naturally wish to come to action, as their retreat, should they meet with any disaster, can be covered. We must drive the country, embarrass and destroy the roads, break down the bridges, &c. and act constantly on their line of march, cutting off their detachments, intercepting their convoys, and harassing their communications, while we studiously, at the same time, avoid coming to any serious dispute that might determine at once

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the contest, or risking the whole on account of any secondary object. To the general safety every subordinate consideration must give way. Places which cannot stand by themselves without protection, must be evacuated and dismantled, or even destroyed, that they may be rendered useless to the enemy when they cease to be useful to ourselves. And no fortifications or lines of field forts, of sufficient extent and consequence to induce us hereafter, on such an occasion, to give the enemy battle, to prevent them from falling into his hands, ought, on any account whatever, to be erected even for the security of our principal dock-yards themselves; unless we wish to invite him into the country, and furnish him, after he comes, with the most effectual means of rendering himself master of it, or at least establishing himself in it so completely as to be able, afterwards, to carry on the most advantageous and solid operations. The preservation of dock-yards, fortifications, &c. must, in cases of extremity, yield to public necessity: no works, therefore, should be erected round
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any of our docks that are not both very limited in their extent and capable of being defended, for some time, by an inconsiderable force, especially against such armaments as, being too small for a serious invasion, are only calculated for occasional or desultory assaults. Whoever considers attentively the military establishment of Great Britain must allow, that it cannot supply us with a sufficiency of troops for defending extensive lines, and at the same time enable us to take the field against an invading army with the smallest prospect or certainty of success. And it must be admitted by every person who thinks and reasons like a soldier, that numerous fortifications are of infinite disadvantage to us, if we cannot man them properly without robbing the kingdom of its whole active strength: for either the rest of the country must, in this case, be left defenceless and abandoned to its fate, or they must be, in a great measure, dismantled, to furnish us with men to watch the motions of the enemy: and if they are, they must soon fall an easy prey to him; and when once taken

possession of and sufficiently manned, will immediately form impenetrable lines of circumvallation against the united strength of all the remaining parts of the island. If they likewise happen to be so situated as to command excellent roads for shipping (as the extensive lines of large works proposed by his Grace of Richmond at Gosport and Portsmouth effectually do *that* of Spithead) they will afford him, without much trouble, the means of nestling and fixing himself securely as long as he possesses a superiority at sea, and enable him, in a short time, to annihilate the trade and ruin the power of Britain, without running the smallest risk or hazard himself. Of this particular situation, however, I will speak more circumstantially in a subsequent part of this Essay. From what I have said, it is manifest, that no works ought to be made in this island, but such as can both be erected at a moderate expence, and are so circumscribed, in respect of magnitude and extent, as to require but a small number of troops for their defence: for, in all such

cases, regard should always be had to the military establishment of the nation. Such are perfectly sufficient for the purpose of repelling casual and transient attacks, which, among other things, will certainly point at the burning of our dock-yards. A partial destruction, however, of the perishable stores in them, which is all that a bombardment could effect, even supposing all the necessary precautions not to be taken for their security, can never be an object to an enemy who comes with the serious intention and settled expectation of conquering the country: for he must be sensible that the destroying of them, although it may partly distress, cannot tend to subdue the kingdom. And he will naturally wish to leave undemolished what he expects to see his own, that he may receive it as entire as possible. To those, to be sure, who watch every opportunity, in time of war, of doing us some mischief, and creating temporary and occasional calamities; the firing of our dock-yards will naturally be an object of great moment and material consideration: but it never can be so to him who
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comes full of the most sanguine hopes of rendering himself master of the island. And if disappointment in regard to his main object should even lead him to take such a step, it will prove, on our part, a loss that is only partial, and cannot endanger the general safety, or involve in its consequences the fate of the nation at large. Besides, if he is once forced to retire and relinquish his prospects of conquest, he will find it no easy matter, if we take care to do our duty, to execute any such enterprise. Armaments of a trifling, subordinate, or secondary nature, calculated only for harassing, destroying, and laying waste, can never remain long ashore without meeting their own ruin and destruction. And to such we may, in most cases, give battle at, or soon at least after, their landing, without running much risk, or dreading the event of it: but when the actual subjugation of the country is seriously intended and attempted, we must regulate our conduct by very different principles, and studiously avoid hazarding a general engagement. Stratagem and delay must then

then be our game, and all inferior considerations must be sacrificed to public security. There are few countries better adapted than England to a defensive war: for it is so intersected, in most places, with ditches and hedges, as to furnish all the advantages in this respect, of one that is covered with wood, without being subject to its inconveniences. In the woods, parties seeing but a little way round them, and finding themselves in situations unfavourable for the mutual communication of conduct and design by the assistance of signals, cannot co-operate with one another so effectually, or act on a line nearly so extensive, as in a country which furnishes every convenience for ambuscades, and at the same time the means and practicability of speedily conveying intelligence to a considerable distance. Even in those tracts that are open and not divided into inclosures, there is almost, in every part, all that is wanted for the chicanery and business of defence: and, generally speaking, indeed it must be allowed that open and cleared countries are better fitted than woody ones for practising
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the whole variety of contrivance and stratagem; for there are always some little eminences, hollow ways, bushes, banks of rivers, or rivulets, fences, &c. &c. sufficient for covering parties, not only of infantry but cavalry. And the troops that make use of them as places of concealment, seeing to a greater distance round them than they can in woods, are better able both to discern and seize the most favourable moments for action, and to assist their friends at the very instant of time in which their co-operation is most seasonable and advantageous.

I am extremely sensible of the great difficulties that must always attend the driving of this or any other country: but with proper directions given before-hand, or upon the first rumours of an invasion, to the inhabitants along the sea coasts, particularly near those places where it is most likely the enemy will land, and the assistance of so good and well-appointed a cavalry as we possess, it certainly may be effected in such a manner as to leave but
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little behind for him to reap advantage from. Thus circumstanced, should he, at the head of his army, attempt to penetrate to the metropolis (and such a step, or the bringing of us to a general and decisive battle, that may determine the fate of the island, he doubtless will have chiefly in view), he will be under the necessity of keeping up a constant communication with his shipping, and of forming, immediately after his disembarking, a large and copious depôt, from which he may receive daily and continual supplies. For this purpose, as his parties and detachments will be obliged to guard not only against incessant attacks, but also perpetually against snares and ambuscades, he will be forced to appoint such strong and numerous convoys, that before he shall have advanced many miles, the greatest part of his force must unavoidably be employed on this ruinous, toilsome, and distressing duty. The farther he advances, the longer will be the line he has to keep open and defend, and consequently the weaker he must become. In most places, particularly those that are open, our ca-

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valry will give us immense advantages over him. From that line alone he can act against us; whereas we can operate against it successfully from every quarter. Every day must weaken him and strengthen us. Let even the army he lands with be ever so great and numerous, we shall soon be able to outnumber it. For the very peasantry, after a little practice and experience in this species of service, will become as useful and serviceable as the troops they act with. If we, therefore, oppose him judiciously in front, constantly retarding his progress, but always avoiding however a general engagement, and at the same time act on the flanks of his line of penetration, cutting off his convoys and detachments, we shall soon force him to retire, and abandon the country with loss and disappointment, unless there should be near his place of landing some strong holds of our own erecting and of very considerable extent, which he may throw himself into, and maintain in defiance of us, whilst he is enabled also, by their positions, to supply his army conveniently with every thing

thing that is requisite or necessary, without advancing into any particular district, or exposing himself even to the chance of a misfortune or disaster. In such a situation, and master at sea, without being in possession of the other parts of the kingdom, he might easily ruin our trade, and reduce our commercial interests to an absolute state of insignificance.

From what I have said, it clearly appears that expedition, vigour, and activity, are indispensably necessary in the prosecution of an offensive war, and that caution, prudence, procrastination, and delay, are peculiarly adapted to a system of defence. The annals of mankind furnish many examples to prove, that this has been the opinion of the ablest generals and wisest politicians in all ages. Although the forces of the Romans, with those of their allies, amounted to seven hundred thousand infantry, and seventy thousand cavalry, when Annibal invaded Italy, the battles of Trebia and Thrasymene, which were occasioned by the indiscretion of Tiberius, and the precipitate rashness of Flaminius, forced them to ap-

point a dictator (an expedient they never had recourse to but in cases of the greatest extremity, as his authority was absolute, and altogether independent on the senate). Fabius adopted the just maxims, and regulated his conduct by the true principles of a defensive war, watching the enemy's motions, and occupying the proper posts, but never trying the fortune of a general battle. Annibal, on the other hand, was fully sensible, that it was greatly to his advantage, not to suffer any part of his time to be wasted in inaction, well knowing that nothing short of complete victories can render an offensive war successful; his chief study, therefore, was to draw his enemies to action: And had not Fabius as industriously avoided it, the Roman State must have been inevitably ruined. The vain and presumptuous Varro, losing sight of these salutary maxims, brought his country, by the battle of Cannæ, to the very brink of destruction: And if she had not possessed immense resources, as well as uncommon wisdom and firmness in her councils, she must without doubt have sunk under the calamity.

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It was our business, as soon as possible after the commencement of the American war, to procure a general engagement. When one year passed, however, after another, without producing any thing decisive; when successive campaigns were consumed in expensive and unprofitable excursions, it required no great share of sagacity to foretell the issue of the contest. It is, I hope, to be presumed, that we did every thing in our power, and practised every scheme and contrivance to bring matters to a speedy determination, and force the main body of the enemy to hazard a battle. One complete victory over their principal army must have concluded the war.—And if we tried our utmost endeavours to bring them to action, no small degree of credit is certainly due to those, who could so uniformly and prudently avoid it. As it was said of Fabius, “*cunctando restituit rem,*” so it may be observed of the American leaders, “*cunctando servarunt rem.*” Certain it is, that throughout the whole of last war, we were attempting to reconcile inconsistencies,

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and jumbling things absurdly together, that never can thoroughly unite. We were striking the Americans on one side of the face, and stroking them on the other. We displayed a species of affected and unnatural lenity, which is altogether incompatible with military operations in general, and more especially with the measures absolutely necessary to be pursued. It tended only to excite contempt. We soothed, caressed, and invited them to return to their loyalty and obedience. They scorned, spurned, and rejected our invitations. We were triflingly serious, and seriously trifling. A mistaken moderation, a ruinous dilatoriness, and a wavering inconsistency marked all our steps. From our procrastination America gathered strength and activity: from our dissensions, diffidence, jealousies, and party feuds, she collected unanimity, confidence, zeal, and vigour. The Americans began with numbers of works; but they soon found them to be in most cases both useless and unnecessary, and learnt in a short time by experience, that a resistance, which is not con-

fin'd to particular spots, but is capable of operating every where, is best calculated for the purposes of a defensive war. After taking possession of Ticonderoga, and the lines without it; after clearing and fortifying Mount Independence, they found it impracticable to hold out against General Burgoyne's army, even for a few days. But by adopting a different mode of defence, and acting on his line of penetration, they soon forced him to retreat, and even to lay down his arms. Lord Cornwallis and his army, without atchieving any thing material, were brought into a similar predicament.

The sagacious and inflexible Montmorency, by temporising and procrastinating measures; by bridling the natural ardour and impetuosity of his countrymen; by laying waste a large tract of country, and dismantling a number of subordinate and untenable posts, saved France from destruction, and defeated the most formidable attack that ever was made upon her. Our situation, as an island,

island, affords more than every advantage, which he obtained by a most calamitous devastation of territory. Had he possessed a certain flexibility of disposition, had he been capable of changing his resolutions and conduct, with the variations in his circumstances, he would have accomplished the entire ruin of Charles's army, and rendered even a retreat impossible. The battle of Hastings will record the imprudence and precipitation of Harold. Poitiers and Cressy proclaim the folly of France. The history of every country will furnish innumerable instances to the same purpose.

It is obvious, however, that my intention and design in what has been advanced, is to establish the following points :

1st, That in prosecuting an offensive war, a decisive battle ought to be early and eagerly fought after ; and in a defensive one, industriously avoided.

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2dly, That it is inadvisable, in every state almost, to have a great part of its force stationary, and that in an island like Great-Britain, of which the coast is too extensive to be fortified against a landing or invasion, it would be highly impolitic to convert its whole active strength into a stationary one, or to dispose of the troops, we ought to act with in times of danger in the field, in a number of large fortresses or garrisons.

3dly, That, as it is impossible for this country to retain any foreign possessions, or carry on an extensive commerce without a powerful and well-appointed navy, the keeping of it in a respectable condition ought to be one of the first and principal objects of our attention.

4thly, That, supposing even the superiority at sea to go from us into other hands, and our navy to dwindle into a state of insignificance, no power in Europe can reasonably undertake the conquest of this island, unless the country itself is torn to pieces by intestine factions, and harbours in its own

bosom a strong party ready to embrace the first opportunity of joining the invader's standard.

5thly, That large and extensive lines of fortifications, that bear no just proportion to the military establishment of this country, are not only unnecessary, but extremely dangerous.

6thly, That we should have no works round our dock-yards, &c. but such as are small and compact, capable of being defended by an inconsiderable force, perfectly compleated, and kept in a constant state of repair, and not left in that neglected, imperfect, and half-finished state, in which almost all the works in this country are at present.

SECTION II.

Of the Detriment and Mischief which may be occasioned to Dockyards by Investitures and Bombardments.

AT certain periods, when the spirit of innovation rages, there arise some ideas, which, escaping all inquiry, spread abroad with rapidity, and like a panic or phrensy seize unaccountably on the minds and apprehensions of mankind. That of destroying dock-yards by means of shells, red-hot shot, &c. is one of them. It has been suggested without reason, received without examination, and communicated, from one person to another, with all the emphatic representations of danger, and the imposing seriousness of conviction. But, if we bring it to the test of reason, and examine it with due attention, we shall soon be convinced that it is imaginary and groundless, and is only the offspring of

irresolution and timidity. For the most essential, most expensive, and principal parts of a dock-yard are its slips, docks, reservoirs, canals, and the gates, sluices, and other appendages belonging to them; together with the whole variety of its works and masonry under ground, and against the sea. And the reason is plain. These are the produce and result of much time and trouble; and cannot, if once ruined, for a long time be replaced. Without them no operation, either in the way of building or repairing vessels, can well be carried on. Now no person, who has carefully examined his own ideas respecting this matter, will seriously venture to assert, that these are subject to destruction by any thing which an enemy can throw at, or into them, from a distance. For they cannot be destroyed, but either by springing mines under them, or tearing them to pieces, and actually removing the materials of which they are composed. It is evident that red-hot shot cannot affect them; and shells, although they may knock out and splinter a few stones, and throw up some earth,
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can never do them any material damage. Besides, if they are filled with water, the effect of the shells will be greatly diminished. But it may be alleged, that the stores of a dock-yard are, in this respect, in a very different predicament from that of its permanent works. True, they are. And it is no less true, that, if ruined, they can be much more easily and speedily replaced. It is only one class of them, however, such as timber, sails, cordage, pitch, and other inflammable substances, that are liable to be destroyed by an enemy's batteries, supposing even that no proper steps are taken for their preservation by those who have the management and direction of the yard. For they may be floated, or even sunk, in such a manner as to be readily raised again after the investiture is over; a circumstance that will render the firing or burning of them altogether impracticable. And if bomb-proofs are wanted for particular stores, it is an easy matter to run them up on the spur of the occasion, by placing logs with a pretty steep pitch against one another (which will effectually

fectually throw off any shells or carcases whatever), and screening them against red-hot shot by surrounding them on those parts that can be seen by the enemy, with earth, stones, bricks, and other materials that are not combustible, and are always to be found in such places in sufficient abundance for the purpose: besides, there seems to be no good reason or necessity for having any greater quantity of them in dock-yards on the sea-coast, than what is absolutely necessary for immediate use and some occasional supplies. Every redundancy of the kind may, without inconvenience, be avoided. Our ships might be supplied, for a certain time, with every thing of this nature that they were likely to stand in need of, and the remainder might be sent out of the enemy's reach to more inland *depôts*. Should there even happen to be a few vessels on the stocks, they may, with a little contrivance, be effectually secured both against shot and shells. In short, there are thousands of ways in which a bombardment may be prevented from being ruinous to a dock-yard. And

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as to all those stores that are not perishable or inflammable, it is evident that it cannot materially injure them. Almost all these precautions may be taken too, and even carried into execution, during the time that the enemy necessarily consumes in disembarking his troops, in landing his guns, mortars, shot, shells, ammunition, &c. in transporting them to the proper spots, and completing his batteries. Now, it is manifest, that if he has the absolute conquest of the island in view, the partial destruction of the combustible or perishable stores in a dock-yard will not be an object to him; nay, it is highly probable that he will even wish to preserve them, as by falling into his hands, they will enable him to furnish his fleet with every article of the kind that is wanted, without being obliged to send, from time to time, to his own country for such supplies. From the possession of them he will derive very essential advantages. It will therefore be our business rather than his to destroy them, as we cannot either erect or man works of sufficient strength to hold

hold out long in any particular place against an army powerful and numerous enough for such an undertaking. It is from armaments only of a subordinate, inferior, and secondary nature, which cannot remain long ashore without meeting their own ruin, and which come not with an intention to conquer or subdue, but to harass, alarm, and distress, that mischief is to be apprehended for our dock-yards. From such however, if the proper and necessary precautions be attended to, I will venture to assert, that they will receive less damage than is annually occasioned to them by the thefts and depredations committed in them by our own people, in spite of all the vigilance and care of the officers and other persons who are intrusted with them. Till such time then as a bombardment happens, we had better destroy every year ten times more than it actually can do when it does happen, than go to the prodigious expence of those extensive lines of fortifications proposed by the present Master-General of the Ordnance.

Of

Of the enormous Expence that will attend the Execution of those Extensive Lines of Field-fortifications, proposed by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, to be erected round his Majesty's Dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

Chatham I take not formally into consideration, as the folly of what has been already done there will, it is to be presumed, furnish a sufficient caution to Masters-General, in time to come, not even to think of doing much more at a post, which every military person of the least sense or discernment must, without scruple or hesitation, allow to be altogether incapable of being fortified. The large sums expended there unprofitably ought likewise to be a serious and seasonable warning to the Representatives of the people, who are the constitutional guardians of the Public purse, to take care how they open it for such chimerical and visionary schemes of security, as may be held out to them in future by any vain or romantic projector, that happens to

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get into power by the mistake, and for the distress of his country. In making these observations, however, I mean not to insinuate, that the officer, who was entrusted with the erection of the works at that place, is censurable, as I am given to understand, that they never once met his approbation. It is not their execution which discovers no professional incapacity, but design, which shews a great want of judgment, that I censure.

With regard to Portsmouth and Plymouth, the information which I have procured from the most unquestionable authority, respecting His Grace of Richmond's plans, is what follows:

	£.	s.	d.
That since he began to alter a work in the Gosport division, commonly called Fort Monkton, there have been granted	21,000	0	0
viz. £. 11,000 for the year 1783, and £. 10,000 for 1784; and that for completing it there will be still wanted	50,000	0	0

That

£. s. d.

That on account of it, and a large pentagonal work intended to be erected near Stokes Bay House; and a morass called Gomer Pond Lands, have been lately purchased to the amount of

11,757 0 0

That besides these there must still be purchased for the inundation, and two other large works, with some intermediate small ones, to form a line of defence from thence across to the harbour, at Frater Lake Lands, to the amount of

25,000 0 0

That the said pentagonal work, if executed on the scale proposed, will, by the most moderate estimate that can reasonably be made for it, cost at least

135,000 0 0

That, supposing the other two capital points of this line to be made equally strong with the said position at the Bay House, the works which must respectively occupy them, will cost as follows, viz. the one at Frater Lake

160,000 0 0

And the other near Rowner Church at the salient angle of the line, which is of course the tenderest and weakest part of it

180,000 0 0

That for the intermediate works between these principal points, whenever they shall be erected, there cannot well be allowed less than

26,000 0 0

£. s. d.

That for the sluices, inundations, dams, and ditches for the same, têtes des ponts, bridges, and passages of communication, &c. there will be wanted

20,000 0 0

That the ordnance expence of the sea wall, now erecting at Haslar Hospital, will amount to

10,000 0 0

Total £.638,757 0 0
for the Gosport division.

That at Plymouth there is likewise to be a line of defence formed from Mount Edgecombe to Tar Point, and occupied chiefly in like manner by three principal works; that the first of these on the left of the line is to be erected on Mount Edgecombe, with a small work advanced from it, for the purpose of looking along and scouring a pretty deep ravine; that the second or central work is to be near the King's Brewery; and that the third, on the right of the line, is to be constructed on Mr. Carey's pleasure-ground and bowling-green; which, with the mutual communications between them necessary for rendering the defence advantageous and connected, &c. &c. will cost at least as much as the Gosport division, viz.

638,757 0 0

That

£. s. d.

That in the Portsmouth division there is to be a large work erected near the middle of the present Port-sea lines; that South-Sea Castle is to be pulled down, and a work constructed on ground a little way retired behind it; and that there are alterations and additions to be made at and near Cumberland Fort, &c. which together, independent of the sums still wanted for compleating the new works round *Common*, will cost at least

300,000 0 0

Total £. 1,577,514 0 0
for the three divisions.

Now if we seriously consider, that estimates for works in general fall greatly short of the actual expence of execution, we may reasonably enough add to the preceding amount one half of itself; which addition will give us the enormous sum of £2,366,271; a sum greatly exceeding *that* which is sufficient for building the whole navy of England. Extraordinary however as this estimate appears, I will confidently venture to assert, that it will but barely defray the expence of executing the aforesaid works, unless the present Master General should

should greatly diminish the scale and dimensions which he has hitherto uniformly proposed for them, notwithstanding any delusive schemes of œconomy in workmanship that may from time to time be held out to the public. In confirmation of what I say, I need only produce as an instance, the new works round Common and the Dock-yard at Portsmouth. The first estimate of the expence necessary for erecting them, amounted only to forty thousand pounds, and the highest that was made for them, to seventy. But, although there is not any one part of them as yet intirely finished, although there is not a single casemate or barrack within them for the security and reception of the troops that must be employed in case of an attack in defending them, they have already cost four times that sum. If we likewise take into the account, His Grace's singular passion for alterations (which even his best friends must allow that he possesses in a very eminent degree); if we recollect, that he never engages in any enterprize without frequently changing his mind during the execution of it;

it; and that he is no less sudden in quitting his resolutions, than precipitate in forming them; we shall find great reason to conclude, that, should Parliament even consent to grant large sums of money annually for the erection of these works, according to the scale and size proposed, and he either happen to remain at the head of the ordnance, or get to it occasionally, whilst they are carrying on, the actual expence will considerably exceed that above-mentioned. Since he first was appointed Master General, he has repeatedly pledged himself in some measure, to fortify and secure both dockyards for five hundred thousand pounds, allowing two for Gosport, two for Plymouth, and one for Portsea island. In these relative proportions of the expence he is pretty correct, but in regard to the real amount of it, exceedingly mistaken. In this particular, however, he only resembles most other schemers, who, by way of recommending their plans, never fail to hold out fallacious and delusive prospects of expenditure, thinking, that if they are once approved of and received, they will
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afterwards stand a fair chance of being executed. When the rage of innovation and novelty seizes on the imagination of a projector, reason is sacrificed to fancy, love of country to vanity, and utility to whim. The propriety or impropriety of of expence is then entirely lost sight of, and every thing is forced to bow and give way to that pleasure and delight, which the human mind naturally takes in furnishing full scope for the exercise of its own passions and propensities. And were it not for his known fickleness and versatility, such a fondness and partiality for fortifications must appear strange and unaccountable to most people, when they consider, that he used formerly to reprobate them in the most pointed terms he was master of, and in all the captious and impassioned language of opposition, unscrupulously declaring, that there was no defence for this island but its navy. In making such a declaration, however, he was no less in one extreme, than he is now in the other. For although it must certainly be acknowledged, that without a

superior navy we neither can retain nor furnish any permanent defence for our foreign islands and possessions, the security and protection of this kingdom itself must ultimately, or in cases of the last extremity and dernier resort, be derived from its own internal resources, properly applied and regulated by the true principles of a defensive war. That there exists any political reason or necessity for such extensive lines, as he has proposed, I absolutely deny. To me they even appear highly impolitic, as well as pregnant with danger and mischief to this country. I wish not to insinuate, however, that fortifications, even in Great-Britain, are altogether unnecessary. I am in reality of a very different opinion; but I have ever thought, that we ought to have none that are not both of a moderate extent, and capable of being defended by an inconsiderable force. For it is surely preposterous, while these works that we already have, and which on an emergency we cannot even furnish troops to man sufficiently, are left in a neglected, imperfect, half-finished, and almost ruinous state, to propose

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pose or advise the execution of others, on an infinitely larger and more expensive scale. In finishing them properly, in repairing and putting them from time to time in a respectable posture of defence, there is more than employment enough for all our engineers, that can be spared from foreign stations, and other necessary and useful duty.

The establishment of the engineer-corps, indeed, it must be confessed, has always been found in experience to be by far too small for that of the army. Whence it has been the practice on every campaign, to take numbers of officers from the line to act as assistants, to the no small prejudice and detriment of the service. For, though some of those gentlemen, that have been thus employed, are very well qualified, it cannot be denied, that they are far from being generally so. The late reduction of acting engineers, from seventy-five to sixty-one, is not therefore altogether judicious, especially as they occasion
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to the Public an expence, comparatively speaking, but very inconsiderable. It may, perhaps, be alleged, that in time of war the establishment may easily be augmented. True, it may. But such a temporary augmentation cannot remedy the inconvenience I have mentioned. For officers, unless they possess very great and uncommon abilities indeed, cannot, in a professional corps, be prepared immediately for acting with advantage to their country. They must undergo a sort of probation, and by degrees acquire that knowledge, which is requisite for rendering them serviceable in the field, and skilful in construction.

From the statement of the expence, given above, for his Grace's extensive lines of fortifications it clearly appears, that at the rate of fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, they will hardly be completed in forty-seven years. The present race or generation of men then cannot see them finished. One half of them will want repairs, before the other can be erected. That so large an annual expenditure on them, however, for such a

period of years, will be uniformly assented to by the House of Commons, is a supposition that can scarcely be made. It is no difficult matter, therefore, to predict their fate, if the present rulers in this country should even agree to their erection; and relying implicitly on his Grace's judgment for their political expedience or propriety, go regularly to Parliament, during their own continuance in office, for the supplies that will be necessary for carrying them on. Succeeding Administrations, and Masters Generals, will probably, nay certainly, view them in a very different light; and conceiving them to be not only unnecessary but dangerous, will, after some hundred thousand pounds shall be foolishly expended, put a stop to their progress, and leave them to go intirely to ruin and decay. And, perhaps, some ages hence, when the memory of an undertaking so ridiculous shall be obliterated, their decayed jim-crack curiosities may furnish amusement and speculation to antiquaries. No sensible or wise man will either advise or attempt the execution of a project,

project, that requires half a century almost for its completion, till it is previously well ascertained that the minds of his countrymen in general are deeply impressed with a sense both of its necessity and advantages. This is far from being the case, however, with his schemes of fortifying. The Public does not entertain such favourable impressions of them. The sentiments of the intelligent, and the prejudices of the ignorant, are collectively against them. What then can induce him to propose or bring them forward with so much anxiety and earnestness? He is possibly in the predicament of those schemers and pretended reformers, who flatter themselves, that, provided they only innovate and make alterations, the world will give them credit for improvement and reformation. But what is the use of his practising, in trifles, a rigorous and oppressive system of œconomy, that tends only to distress individuals, without benefiting the State, whilst, at the same time, he is expending thousands unprofitably; and is seriously contriving to engage this kingdom in projects,

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which her finances, at present, are not equal to ; and which, so far from ever becoming advantageous to her, if even executed, are manifestly calculated for accelerating her destruction. To be at once both prodigal and parsimonious in the extreme, surely argues a singularity of disposition, and a striking species of inconsistency. And it will be difficult to account for the co-existence of two such opposite qualities in the same person, otherwise than by that powerful influence which the tempers, propensities, fears, and apprehensions of individuals, are known to have generally on their conduct and opinions. Thus, for instance, the daring, the rash and impetuous, spurning the controul of reason, are apt to despise all precautions, and to deem them unnecessary ; whereas the timid, the fearful, and irresolute mind, has always distorted and microscopic prospects of danger and attack, and consequently never fails to magnify both the necessity and modes of defence, beyond all truth and due proportion. But a steady and prudent courage, guided by
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the dictates of sound sense and reason, makes the necessary preparations for security, without being biaſſed or led into extremes, either by raſhneſs or timidity.

Should his Grace, however, be even ſucceſſful enough to obtain the ſanction of Parliament, to lines of ſuch an immoderate and prepoſterous extent, it is to be hoped, that the Engineers appointed to meet as a committee in the Tower, on certain days every week, for the examination of plans, will at leaſt diſcover ſome regard for their country (as I doubt not that they wiſh her well), and inſtead of lending their approbation to ſuch large and extenſive works as he propoſes, recommend others on a ſmaller and much leſs expenſive ſcale. The political reaſons for and againſt their erection, as adviſeable or otherwiſe, will not, I am ſenſible, come naturally under their conſideration; but their magnitudes, as well as the modes and expence of erecting them, moſt undoubtedly will. I am confident, that they will
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readily pardon me for venturing, on the present occasion, to suggest to them one circumstance, which is well deserving of their attention, and must, I suppose, have already occurred to them as professional men. It is this:—In a work, which is to stand an attack by itself, singly and unsupported, it is necessary to have large and strong flanks, since it is almost impossible for an enemy, till the flanking defences are destroyed, to approach the body of the place. But with regard to chains of fortifications that communicate, co operate with, and furnish mutual protection and assistance to one another, the case is widely different. For on such continuations of defence, the intire fronts of one work are, in reality, flanks to those of another. And, as no particular one, in such a line, can be embraced without the rest, till the line itself is penetrated, and the communication between them interrupted, it is unnecessary for it to have any larger flanks than what are just sufficient for taking off dead parts, scouring the ditch, preventing a surprise, and defeating sudden assaults, unless

It is likewise currently reported, not only amongst professional people, but also officers of the line, that an affection or partiality for Montalembert's new system, called *La Fortification perpendiculaire*, which has not even plausibility to recommend it, and is no more than a combination of principles radically and fundamentally absurd, has led him to fix on ridiculous *Caponiers*, and an infinitely greater number of expensive casemates, than is necessary. I am persuaded, however, that the committee of engineers will not display any particular fondness for
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novelty in their profession, or advise the adoption of a mode of fortifying, which has never been put to the test, or brought into actual trial, in preference to those, that have arisen out of time, experience, and observation. For it is no less unfair to compare with his, Vauban's system, and others that have received, as it were, the sanction of ages, and been carried into execution in almost every country in Europe, than it would be to compare a living man to a dead statue, which has never once tried its strength in real action.

SECTION IV.

Observations on the Attack and Defence of the aforesaid Lines, on the Proportion which the Number of Troops requisite for defending them, bears to the Military Establishment of this Country ; and on the probable Consequences of erecting them, should an Invasion actually take place.

LET us then begin with Plymouth, and afterwards take Gosport and Portsmouth together, as they are naturally connected.

With regard to Mount Edgecombe or Maker Side, it must be allowed by every person who has examined the ground with a military eye, that we cannot prevent an enemy from landing at a distance from the proposed line, rather convenient than otherwise for his purpose, provided that he come with only double our numbers or force. We dare not even advance to dis-

pute the matter with him, without throwing ourselves into an awkward situation, turning our backs on a creek, and running the risk of having our return to our own works cut off. The advanced fort which His Grace talked of some time ago, could not, if even erected, remove this evil or inconvenience: For the enemy might land in the rear of it, and after getting possession of it (as he certainly would do soon), convert it to his own advantage. It must also be acknowledged, that after he has disembarked his troops, and effected a landing, he may with very little trouble secure his rear completely against any attempts from the country, whilst he proceeds with his attack on our line of forts running across from Mount Edgecombe to Tar Point. That there are great and manifest disadvantages attending the relative positions of these works, is a truth that cannot possibly be denied: For they are separated by creeks, and can hardly have any communication but by bridges, and these too liable to be annoyed by the enemy. They consequently cannot furnish a mutual support or protection

tection to one another either speedily or effectually. There must, therefore, be a large body of troops behind each of them, ready to act as circumstances may require, particularly on Mount Edgecombe ; since it is obvious, that should the left of the line once fall into his hands, the rest of it soon would of course. The number of men, however, necessary for its defence, will depend in a great measure on the strength of the attacking army. Less than fifteen thousand cannot reasonably be allotted for this purpose, should the enemy appear with thirty-five or forty before it. His getting possession of it will save him an immense deal of trouble, since it is exactly the line on the Maker Side that he must form, to enable him to remain in Plymouth with safety, were he actually master of the harbour. In making it therefore at a great expence, we are playing both a high and a dangerous game.

As to the side on which Plymouth, the dock-yard, &c. stand, it must certainly be admitted, that it is in reality almost not fortifiable.

fortifiable. For the ground rises gradually from it to Dart-moor, and furnishes the attacker with every possible sort of advantage, unless there be a body of troops to harass and annoy his rear, from a position still more advantageous than that he acts from. In order to afford it any tolerable degree of protection, it would be necessary to occupy an extent of almost five miles, from the Tamar to that branch of the sea which runs up to the Three-mile-bridge, with a line of works, that, when erected, would require twenty-five thousand men, at least, to defend them. This, with the line above-mentioned on the Maker Side, are exactly what an enemy, after getting possession of Plymouth, must form, to enable him to remain in it with safety. There is one circumstance, however, attending them, that greatly increases the difficulty of their defence, which is this, that being separated by creeks, rivers, and the sea, they cannot, in case of an attack, effectually support or assist each other. A situation in this respect more ineligible, or with more broken and interrupted communication.

munications, can hardly be conceived. That General Lloyd, who has written and reasoned very much like a soldier, was exactly of the same opinion, is evident. For, in speaking of this post, he says: " To remain there with any safety, he (the enemy) must occupy and fortify Mount Edgecombe, and the ground behind the King's Brewhouse, as well as all the ground between the Tamar and that branch of the sea which runs under Mr. Parker's garden to the bridge, at the three-mile stone coming to London. He should, moreover, have a body of troops in Mr. Parker's ground. Forty or fifty thousand men would not be sufficient for the purpose, because these being separated by the sea and the Tamar, could not, in case of an attack, support each other; and if only one of them is defeated, the others must fall successively and in a very short time." The principal security of the Plymouth side consists in this, that an enemy cannot easily get to it but through our own negligence, unskilfulness, and inactivity. For he must make a very considerable

considerable detour, and march under a variety of difficulties, through a certain tract of country very difficult and mountainous, and in which there is not a single spot sufficiently extensive for forming in, or for his availing himself of his superiority in numbers. Half the force requisite for defending any line of works that can possibly be made for it, properly managed and disposed of, would ruin his army, however numerous, before he could reach the place. On such an occasion then, the most sensible method of acting for us would be, to withdraw from Plymouth the greatest part of the troops allotted for its defence, and with them oppose his progress towards it, by occupying successively, as incidents might require, the various posts best calculated for annoying both the front and flanks of his line of march, as well as the passes through which he must either necessarily advance or retire. If we acted judiciously, his numbers would stand him in but little stead, and it would be impossible for us to fail of success. In such circumstances, an army, however powerful, could not advance far without meeting

meeting its destruction. If this mode of defence, which indeed is the only one that is practicable, be then adopted for it, nine or ten thousand men will keep it perfectly secure. An attempt to defend it by means of fortifications would, on our part, be the very height of madness. For, although an inconsiderable force, properly made use of, will prevent an invading army from ever appearing before it; yet it must certainly be allowed, that if an enemy once gets there, it is not possible for us to protect it, without such an extensive line of works, and great number of troops, as I have mentioned. And such a body of men, it will be utterly impossible for us to furnish, or spare for it, from other indispensable services, till the military establishment of this country be quadruple, or at least triple, what it ever has been hitherto. The Maker Side is almost equally objectionable on the same account, and is still more pregnant with danger. For an enemy can get to it with his army without either risk or difficulty, and if it is not properly manned, easily becomes master of it, and without

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either expence or labour, takes immediate possession of one of those principal barriers that are absolutely necessary for enabling him to remain at Plymouth with his fleet and troops in security. The greatest inconvenience attending it, however, does not lie in this, that it is utterly impracticable for us to man it sufficiently. The enormous expence of its erection will exceed, beyond all ratio and proportion, the amount of the damage that could be occasioned to the dock-yard by a bombardment. The object is not adequate to the expenditure. For the timber belonging to it may be all floated, or placed where red-hot shot cannot touch it. And there seems to be no good reason why storehouses should not be built, as they certainly might, and on spots too, convenient enough for water-carriage, to receive all the combustible, or inflammable stores and materials, entirely out of the reach of shot and shells from the opposite side; a precaution, which would render the enemy's attack from that quarter useless and nugatory. The expence of erecting them, if compared to that of the other,

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will be found to be altogether trifling. From what has been said, it appears then, that the works proposed to be erected at this post, by the present Master General of the Ordnance, are not only expensive beyond measure, and disproportionate to the military establishment of Great Britain, which, it is likely, will not be greater in time to come than it has been heretofore, especially after so recent a loss of territory and dominion, but are also, in reality, much more calculated for our enemy's interests and security than our own. Besides, before they can be half finished, we shall probably be involved in another war. Their imperfect state will be an absolute invitation to him to come and take possession of them, and thus reap all the fruits or advantages of our labour, trouble, and expence, while we shall have the mortification to find, that we have only toiled and exhausted our treasury in erecting strong holds for our foes. It ought likewise to be seriously considered, that we hazard a great deal by throwing a considerable, or principal part of our force into any one particular

place, especially on the sea-coast. For, if the post happens to be taken, the troops also employed in defending it (as is indeed commonly the case) fall naturally at the same time into the enemy's hands. And when we are coping with a foe that can command as many almost as he chooses, such a diminution of national strength in the very hour of distress, must tend greatly to bring the safety of the state itself into immediate danger, by depriving us of an essential part of that force, which we ought studiously to preserve and employ in opposing his progress into the heart of the country. When an invasion takes place that threatens the conquest of the kingdom, we should conceive ourselves to be fighting not for any inferior individual object, but for the whole community at large, and the preservation of the realm. It is not for any subordinate consideration, it is not on account of this or that dock-yard, this or that post, that we ought to run any material risk. An obstinate resistance, in any particular spot or spots, that may lead to a general action, or expose us even to the chance

chance of a disaster, we must carefully and industriously avoid. A temporising procrastinating system of defence, which seizes and avails itself of every advantage that the country naturally affords, without coming to any thing decisive, will save us, and soon ruin our enemies. It is by such an opposition alone, properly regulated and conducted, and not by large and extensive works, that England is, in cases of extreme danger, to be protected. For if we even suppose the French, who must be allowed to have a sufficiency of troops almost for any military purpose or enterprise whatever, to be in possession of Plymouth, and both the lines above-mentioned in a complete and perfect state, we must not from thence infer, that they have thereby obtained any superiority or advantage that can really decide the fate of the kingdom. During their continuance in it they may, to be sure, if indisputably masters at sea, by means of their fleet and parties, or detachments from their army, ravage the whole coast of England, and spread perpetual and constant alarms. But, although the navigation from it to

France is but short and not very precarious, they could not remain there long with a large force depending on uncertain supplies from their shipping. To continue possessed of it for any considerable length of time, the greatest part of them must advance and occupy some position which commands a tract or district of country sufficient for supplying them with subsistence in abundance. There is no spot, however, calculated for this purpose, and for keeping open likewise a communication with the sea, nearer than Hall-down, as General Lloyd has very sensibly observed. And it will argue an unaccountable degree of neglect and inactivity in us, to permit them ever to penetrate half so far.

As to the intended line of fortifications in the Gosport division, it must be acknowledged, even by the noble Duke who is the proposer of it, that when finished, it will furnish no sort of protection whatever to our ships in the harbour, but only prevent the enemy from throwing red-hot shot and shells from that side into the dock-yard.

yard. For the point of land beyond Bedinham Lake looks right along the channel called Fareham Lake, in which are all the moorings for the large vessels, quite down to Portsmouth and the dock-yards, and is only a few hundred yards distant from some of them, that extend as far up as the right of the line, at the small creek called Frater Lake. And the fire from this point throughout the whole of the said extent, is crossed in small angles, by that from the lower Bedinham Point. It would be impossible, therefore, for a vessel to remain in any one part whatever of the said Lake for only twenty four hours after the enemy is in possession of this ground, without being totally ruined and destroyed. Besides the water that is in it at all states of the tide, would serve as a conductor to ever shot or shell fired with a small angle of elevation, and give it effect. But this is not all: Their fire likewise crosses all that part of the Portchester Lake, in which are the moorings for the smaller vessels and frigates, nearly at right angles. There may also be a fire across both these lakes

lakes from Portchester Castle, and all the ground lying to the west of it, as far as Wicker. It is manifest then, that this line, when completed, will not be able to afford any effectual protection to our shipping. To make it answer this purpose, and secure the harbour, it would be necessary to terminate its right on the ground in front of Bedinham, and to occupy the Portchester-Side very strongly. But a line so long, so broken, and interrupted, as these taken together form, would be attended in its erection with such an immense expence, and require such a number of troops for its defence against a powerful invading army, that I may venture to say, it never will be executed, or even seriously thought of: For surely no individual that does not wish the ruin of this country can ever be so mad or senseless as to advise it. His Grace, indeed, himself, I am informed, entirely gives up the idea of protecting the harbour, and only proposes by his line, to prevent red-hot shot and shells from being thrown into the dock-yard. It does not by any means, however, appear clear to me, that
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when erected, it will operate as such a prevention. That it cannot indeed completely, is evident: For, should the enemy float some sea-mortars near Portchester Castle, at the distance only of two miles from the dock-yard, which he certainly may do without inconvenience, whenever he shall come to attack us with a great force, he will be able to throw as many shells into it as he chooses, since such mortars, with proper charges of powder, will give considerably longer ranges than are wanted for this purpose. Our ships, at all events, must run to some other place for shelter and security: And respecting the preservation of the perishable or combustible stores and materials in the yard from partial destruction, it must unquestionably be allowed, that it is not in any degree adequate to the prodigious expenditure that will unavoidably be occasioned by the making of the lines, which, even when finished, it is evident, will not produce this salutary effect. They may be perfectly secured, however, at an infinitely less expence; for the timber might be all floated, as a great part of it indeed is now.

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And I see no good reason, why there should not be store-houses built for receiving the other inflammable materials in Portsea Island, on a spot or spots altogether out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells from every quarter. Should such a measure be adopted, it will reduce our defences for this post to that island alone, and save us the whole expenditure that will accompany our carrying of his Grace's plans for the Gosport division into execution. But it is not the enormous expence which will necessarily attend the execution of this line, that ought to alarm us most, or has the best claim to our serious consideration and attention. Let us, therefore, examine it in other respects: From Blockhouse Fort to Frater Lake, round by Fort Monckton, the Bay-house and Rowner Church is its extent, which is about six miles. As to the number of troops requisite for its defence against an attacking army of considerable strength, it must be admitted, that fewer than two hundred and fifty cannot reasonably be allotted for Blockhouse Fort and the work at Haslar Hospital, five hundred for Fort Monck-

Monckton, eight hundred for the proposed pentagonal work at Stoke's Bay-house, nine hundred for that intended to be erected at Frater Lake, a thousand for the one near Rowner Church, in the saliant angle of the line, and five hundred for the smaller intermediate works. These together amount to three thousand nine hundred and fifty. Now, in order to defend them properly, it would be necessary to relieve these troops once in forty-eight hours, from the strong corps that must be stationed in their rear ready to watch the motions of the enemy, prevent his penetration through the intervals, and oppose him as circumstances may require. For these reliefs then, which will both excite an emulation amongst them, and prevent that diminution of spirit and courage, which is always occasioned by people's being shut up long in any one place, and obliged to act defensively, and for other useful and unavoidable duties, it will be absolutely necessary to have twice as many men as there are in the works, always in readiness behind them. There will be wanted then, about twelve thousand

men for the defence of the Gosport line, if it should be executed according to his Grace's ideas, and about ten thousand for the island of Portsea. On his scale of defence, therefore, forty-seven or fifty thousand troops will barely suffice for defending Portsmouth and Plymouth. But this is a number that the military establishment of this country never can supply for the purpose. When Lord Townshend* (as I have been told), somewhat surprised and astonished at the prodigious magnitude of his Grace's plans for fortifying these two posts, with great propriety asked the late Commander in Chief, how many, in case of an attack, he could allow for them; received for answer, that more than eight thousand for each, or ten at the very utmost, could not possibly be furnished. Sixteen or twenty thousand, however, differ very widely from the fifty or sixty thousand that

* As Lord Townshend was removed from the Ordnance, before he had arranged or adopted a plan of defence and protection for our docks, &c. I cannot speak with any degree of precision of his Lordship's ideas on the subject.

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will be wanted, should his schemes be all carried into execution. Sir William Howe, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, when he was interrogated by the same nobleman respecting them, and asked for his opinion in regard to so many large works, and such extensive lines, made nearly the following reply :

“ I will give you the same answer to
 “ this question, that I formerly gave to
 “ the Duke of Richmond, as I am equally
 “ convinced with your Lordship, that if
 “ we cannot find a sufficiency of troops for
 “ manning them completely, without too
 “ great a diminution of our active force,
 “ we are much better without them alto-
 “ gether.”

This is exactly the light in which every person, who only possesses mediocrity of understanding, and an ordinary share of discernment, must view them, unless he is either influenced and biased by prejudices, or is led, by an influence of a different nature, to be anxious about the carrying on

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of some design, at the expence, and to the detriment of his country. Those who are foolish enough to assert, that such an extensive line as the one proposed for the Gosport division, can be defended by an inconsiderable force, would do well to pay some attention to the resemblance which the part of it that extends from the Bay-house to Frater Lake, bears to the one which was occupied at the battle of Fontenoy, by the French army under the command of Marechal Saxe, the ablest general of the age he lived in. The angle formed by the village of that name, with Anthoin on the right, and the wood of Barry on the left, differs but little from the one which is formed by Rowner church with Frater Lake and Stoke's Bay-house; and the distances between those capital points in their line fall short, respectively, of the fronts extending between these in ours, some hundred yards; a circumstance which was for them, and is against us. Saxe, however, although he had almost five times as many men within his line as he that attacked it, although he

he had very judiciously thrown up three redoubts near Fontenoy, the saliant and consequently tenderest part of it, found it impracticable to prevent our troops from penetrating it at that place, and almost completely cutting his army in two; which we certainly should have done, had he not supplied the weakness and defects of such a line, by his own good management and skill, in drawing his brigades from the left wing to support the centre. Nothing, on the one hand, is so difficult or disadvantageous, as to defend a saliant angle which is embraced, or, on the other, so easy and advantageous, as to attack from a re-entering angle which embraces. This is a doctrine well understood by those who have had much practice in the crossing of rivers. The reason indeed is plain. When the angle which an enemy embraces, does not exceed that of a hexagon, he can bring his fire to cross in the rear of, and almost close to the work that occupies it. And whenever he does so, he can proceed with his attacks on it successfully, and in security; whilst it is impossible for
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any troops either to advance or remain near it for its protection, otherwise than under cover, without exposing themselves to inevitable destruction. This is precisely the case with the salient point of that part of the Gosport line I have been mentioning. For the enemy can embrace any fort placed near it, with the angle only of a pentagon, and command the approaches to it in the rear, almost as effectually as in the front. It must therefore not only be occupied by a very strong work, but likewise have the smaller intermediate ones thrown up nearer to it than the right and left of the line, in order to counterbalance this advantage on the side of the assailants as much as possible. It even appears doubtful to me, whether it will not be both advisable and necessary to have a double line of small works for some distance on each side of it. This point, however, is also weak in other respects. For should the enemy land, and fix himself near Lee or Court Barn, off from which there is a good and secure road for shipping, entirely out of the reach of our shot

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or shells, he will find himself nearer to it than any other part of the line. From thence he can advance, and approach almost quite close to it in twenty-four hours with safety, whilst, without the least difficulty, he renders it impossible for us to annoy him from our left. The ground right opposite to the spot on which the work proposed for it is intended to be erected, and separated from it only by the small rivulet that crosses the road at Rowner, and runs along to the morass, is also very favourable for an attack, although it may in some measure be looked along, and scoured by a fire from the church-yard, and certain spots near it, which must be occupied. He may likewise turn our left at Gomer Ponet with his fleet, as often as he chooses, and draw our attention along Stoke's Bay, all the way down to Fort Monkton. He also enjoys another great advantage; which is this, that he can counterfeit various attacks, on different parts of the line, and conceal his real intentions, whilst he seizes the most favourable moment for penetrating it at some

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other place, and severing our defences. This once done effectually, the several works forming it will fall successively, and in a very short time, into his hands.

The idea, indeed, of defending an extensive line of forts, that are separate and distant from one another, without a considerable army behind them, is altogether ludicrous and absurd. An enemy's getting possession, however, of this line, when once erected, would be attended with such terrible and dreadful consequences to this kingdom, that I cannot even think of it without horror. For those who have not a communication with Portsmouth by water, there are only two ways to it; one of which is by Portsea Bridge, and the other by Gosport. General Lloyd has very justly observed, that Portsea lines are against us, as they form a barrier for the enemy, the moment he gets upon the island, against the country on the side of Ports-down. When the large work which his Grace proposes to erect near the middle of them, shall be finished, they

they will be still more so. Had the proposed line for the Gosport division been erected when he wrote, he certainly would have made a similar observation respecting it, and in much stronger terms. It is not only against us, like the other, but is much more difficult to be defended, and is exceedingly dangerous and alarming. For, taken with the other, it seems chiefly calculated for enabling an enemy, after he once gets possession of them, to hold the principal port and harbour in this country, without running any risk, or exposing himself to the smallest degree of danger, as long as he is master at sea, in spite of any attempts that we could possibly make to dislodge him. Could he fix himself in the Isle of Wight so effectually as to command it, and obtain from it subsistence in abundance for his troops, and likewise have a secure and commodious road or harbour for his shipping, he might in a short time ruin our trade, and almost annihilate the commercial interests of this nation. But this he never will be able to do, whilst we can maintain and keep up a con-

stant and speedy communication with the north-side of the island, by being masters of Spithead. For it must be acknowledged, that (as General Lloyd very sensibly observes) the disembarkation, or landing of an army on the south-side of it, would be extremely difficult, even when there is not any resistance or opposition, and altogether impracticable when there is, and that it is impossible for a fleet, or even a single vessel to anchor off from any part of it for twenty-four hours, without throwing itself into the way of certain destruction, and running the utmost risk of perishing. To retain possession of the Isle of Wight, therefore, for any considerable length of time, he must command the navigation quite round it, and particularly on the north-side for the anchorage of his shipping. Now, it is manifest, that, while we have the command of Portssea island, and the Gosport side, we can always continue to render it impossible for his fleet to remain long at Spithead, or on the north-side of the Isle of Wight, in safety. But let us only suppose him in possession of Portsmouth, and the
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line proposed by the present Master General of the Ordnance for the Gosport division, and all these difficulties vanish immediately. Spithead, St. Helens, the Isle itself, and the entire navigation round it, become the natural appendages of such a possession. He instantly converts Portsea lines, and those intended for Gosport, into lines of circumvallation against the country, despising our feeble attacks, and enjoying himself in comfort and security, having a sufficiency of troops for the defence of works which we cannot pretend to man even indifferently. He has, at once, excellent roads for his shipping, and plenty of provisions for his army, without being under the disagreeable necessity of advancing into the country, or exposing himself even to the chance of a misfortune. Thus circumstanced, and riding triumphantly at sea, he annihilates our trade, and forces us into an acquiescence with any terms he chooses to dictate. The destruction of our commerce, however, is not the only calamity that may be occasioned to us by his fixing of himself in such a position. He would be at a moderate

moderate and convenient distance from the metropolis, without being surrounded, as at Plymouth, by a difficult and mountainous country, and having it in his power to receive supplies of troops occasionally from France, equal almost to any military purpose whatever, would be able to watch and embrace every favourable opportunity of attacking us with advantage in our weakest moments, when we might happen to be torn to pieces by internal dissensions and insurrections, or to labour under any particular misfortune, and of reducing us into complete subjection.

What are the inferences then which we must naturally draw from all that has been said? Plainly these:

1st, That we ought, without scruple or hesitation, to discountenance and reject his Grace's plans of fortification for Portsmouth and Plymouth, as pregnant with mischief and ruin to this country. God forbid, that I should even allege, that, as a subject both of France and England, he is at

at all influenced in this business by our natural foes. But, were he actually pensioned by them for the purpose of betraying this island into their hands, he surely could not take a more effectual method of doing it, than by erecting these very lines of defence.

2dly, That they are altogether disproportionate, and unsuitable to the military establishment of Great Britain, which is not likely, after so great a loss of territory, to be greater in time to come than it hitherto has been. I mean not, however, that it ought to be reduced lower than it is at present. I am really of opinion, that it ought not, if we wish it to bear any just proportion to the exigencies of the State. And if any reduction is meant to take place, it should be in men and not in regiments, since nothing tends so effectually to render raw recruits soon soldiers, as their incorporation into old and established corps.

3dly, That the expence which would attend their erection, is such as the finances
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of this country, in her present distressed situation, are not equal to, unless additional burdens be laid on the subject, already groaning under a load of taxes.

And, 4thly; That it is highly preposterous and absurd, to propose new works on a much more extensive scale than any person in this country ever thought of before, while no attention whatever almost is paid to those that we have already begun and executed. Thus Portsea lines, for instance, are totally neglected. The new works round the common are not as yet more than two-thirds finished, if barracks are to be built, and casemates, &c. made within them. They certainly terminate on the left by a great deal too near the dock-yard, as General Lloyd has very justly observed, and their erection was undoubtedly one of the most foolish things that the Parliament of Great Britain ever assented to. For works might have been erected at a tenth part of the expence which they have occasioned already, that would answer the purpose of protecting it, much better than they

do. However as they have been carried on so far, they ought to be finished. And it must be allowed, that their execution cannot by any means be so much found fault with as the design. The revetements of the old works round Portsmouth are mostly mouldering away apace, and going into decay, having, through some unaccountable piece of ignorance or inattention, been made with stones that do not stand the weather. At South Sea Castle, which is now proposed to be pulled down, His Grace, in 1782, caused several casemates of brickwork to be made for cannon, and contrived them so very injudiciously, that the guns in them cannot fire, as they ought, towards the buoy of the spit, without recoiling against their sides, and either soon shaking them down, or oversetting with their own carriages, and maiming the artillery-men employed in working them. They are, indeed, so completely absurd, that it is hardly possible for the human mind to conceive any thing to be more so. Had a professional man planned and executed them, he would have deserved not

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only censure but punishment. And it surely argues a strange degree of inconsistency, first to add to the works of a place, and in a short time afterwards to talk seriously of pulling the whole down and erecting a new one. There is no end to public expenditure, with a person who is so wavering and inconsistent in his resolutions. The works round Gosport, which are the best and most substantial earthen ones I ever saw, are likewise very imperfect, and totally neglected. The lines adjoining to them are not, in their present state, good for much; and terminate on the right too near the dock-yard. Their parapet should be thickened, their ditch widened, and sloped in the form of a glacis opposite to each flank, to take off the dead parts. A work of a moderate size, at some distance from their right, between Hardway and Elson, would with the troops usually encamped in time of war in the neighbourhood, effectually secure the dock-yard on that side against any small armaments, that might land with an intention to bombard it. And as to those

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who come in sufficient force to attempt the conquest of the country, and are indisputably masters at sea, it is evident, that they will have objects of greater magnitude in view, than the bombardment of a dock-yard, which, as I have shewn in Section II. would not by any means be so detrimental to it as people commonly imagine. General Lloyd has said, that a good fort should be raised on a rising ground, a few hundred yards off from these lines. But he must have made this observation in a great measure at random: for there is no such spot to be found within some miles of them. It is manifest, however, that he never once dreamt of an extensive line of large fortifications miles distant from them, which, should we happen to be engaged in another war before they can be completed, will absolutely be an invitation to our enemies to invade us. It therefore behoves Parliament to be extremely cautious about giving its assent to schemes that will exhaust the Treasury, while they endanger the safety of the State.

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